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TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [KDEM](#) [NI](#)  
SUBJECT: OPPOSING PDP FACTIONS VIE FOR CONTROL OF THE ENUGU  
STATE GOVERNORSHIP

REF: LAGOS 1364

Classified By: Consul General Brian L. Browne; for Reasons 1.4 (b and d  
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¶1. (C) Summary: Enugu State Governor Chimaroke Nnamani is seeking to continue his hold on power by transferring the governor's seat to his closest advisers in the Ebeano faction of the Enugu State People's Democratic Party (PDP). President of the Senate Ken Nnamani (no relation to Governor Nnamani) feuded with the Governor for control of the State PDP. Independent observers feel Governor Nnamani has improved the infrastructure of the capital, though critics moan he has done little outside the capital, and condemn him for ruthlessness toward political opponents. The opposition in the PDP, though fearful of the threat of violence from the ruling Ebeano faction, is growing in number and assertiveness. End summary.

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Gleaming Projects and Spotty Services  
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¶2. (U) A visit to Enugu State by Poloff and Polspec revealed a State with numerous projects, including the sprawling Renaissance University complex, a teaching hospital, and an international conference center still under construction. However, the story of Enugu is an alloy of development and decay. Areas outside the capital have not seen much construction or maintenance. When Poloff ventured beyond downtown Enugu, the roads were scarred with potholes, rendering some sections near-impassable.

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Flashy City Projects Preferred to Rural Development  
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¶3. (SBU) Tony Edike of the Vanguard newspaper commented that while the Governor has spent liberally for high-profile projects, including the conference center, a hospital teaching center, and a state judiciary complex, many residents believe he has neglected basic needs, particularly for rural communities. In Edike's opinion, the Governor has completed some useful projects, but they are mostly located in the capital. For example, government workers outside the capital have gone for months without receiving a salary, Edike said.

¶4. (SBU) Osita Ogbu, Director of the Centre for the Advancement of Democracy and the Rule of Law (CADRL), called Enugu citizens disenfranchised. Ogbu echoed the complaint that the Governor favored large, urban construction projects over rural development, a view he said reflected popular opinion. Basic infrastructure such as roads, schools, and

hospitals, have been neglected and gone into decline in the Governor's second term. Ogbu rated the quality of most of the State's roads, schools, and hospitals, as average at best.

¶15. (SBU) Even the Governor's supporters feel he has neglected some tasks. Godwin Nwanjoka, Chairman of the Enugu State PDP, cited numerous infrastructure achievements but acknowledged the next Governor would need to pay more attention to rural development.

¶16. (SBU) The awarding of contracts for the high profile projects has generated controversy. The Governor awarded most of the contracts to a single contractor. Governor Nnamani has defended the process as a more efficient contract system, but Edike told Poloff that the contracts are merely a method for the Governor to reward his supporters. This method of awarding contracts has created a lot of resentment, Edike noted.

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Governor's Group Rules by Intimidation  
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¶17. (SBU) Edike credited control of Enugu to Governor Nnamani's faction Ebeano, Igbo for "where we are". This is more than an existential affirmation but a declaration that they are in power. Edike told Poloff Governor Nnamani created Ebeano in 1999 while running for his first term. Since its creation, Ebeano has controlled Enugu State. According to Edike, politics in Enugu begins with whether or not a person is a member of Ebeano.

¶18. (C) Punch Journalist Wale Adepegba told Poloff that

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Ebeano controls Enugu State through intimidation. The elections in 1999 and 2003 were marred by political violence initiated by Ebeano supporters against all opposition; however this election season has seen a period of relative peace and calm. The PDP is disconnected from the everyday lives of the people, he said. Echoing Ogbu's sentiments, Adepegba claimed Enugu citizens feel disenfranchised, but fear of Ebeano has afflicted many potential opponents with obmutescence.

¶19. (C) CADRL's Ogbu told Poloff the level of violence in Enugu was high the last election. Now, people are even more afraid the Ebeano faction has perfected its violent craft. As a result, people are too afraid to agitate, Ogbu said.

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Has Ebeano Picked the Next Governor?  
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¶10. (C) As the Governor finishes his second term, Ebeano members are gearing for the future. Speaker of the State Assembly Abel Chukwu told Polspec that Ebeano members meet every day to strategize. The governor's race is down to two people, according to Chukwu. Chukwu himself is a candidate with Enugu State Deputy Governor Okechukwu Itanyi as his major rival. Predictably, Chukwu insisted he would win. Chukwu stated flatly to Polspec that "We (Ebeano) have decided (the Governorship in the past) and we are going to decide (the next Governor)."

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Struggle for Control of Enugu PDP  
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¶11. (C) Chukwu insisted there was no feud between the Governor and Senate President Ken Nnamani, who is one of the State's three Senators. By uttering such an obvious falsehood, Chukwu was being mendacious to the point of undermining the credibility of all else he stated. The Governor and Senator have battled for control of the Enugu

State PDP. According to Edike, the Senate President had formed what he called an "authentic PDP". The Senate President wanted the National PDP to dissolve Ebeano and make the process of choosing candidates more open. However, it seems that the Senate President has lost out to the Ebeano faction. Sensing that his chances for the Presidency have withered, the Governor prevented the Senate President from being renominated to his seat. The Governor installed a surprise candidate for that senatorial nomination... himself.

(Note: Recent results from the Enugu PDP Primary list Governor Nnamani as the PDP candidate for Senator Nnamani's East Enugu District seat. End note)

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The Governor's Business Empire  
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¶12. (C) The Governor is the acknowledged richest man in Enugu, Edike noted. The Governor set up an internet-service provider (ISP) and communication business, Rainbownet; owns a private secondary school called Mai Matter, and is rumored to control Marlum Construction Company, the beneficiary of many state contracts. The Governor has also involved his family in Enugu State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). Chimaroke's older sister, Chinelo Nnamani-Nwigwe, is Chairperson of Anambra Motor Manufacturing Company Limited (ANAMCO), which manufactures vehicle parts on license from Mercedes-Benz, and is currently being prepared for privatization.

----- Governor May Cruise Through EFCC Charges Unscathed -----

¶13. (C) The Governor is one of many governors currently under investigation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The Senate, led by another Enugu Senator, Fidelis Okoro, passed a motion requesting an EFCC report on Enugu State expenditures and alleged misappropriation. However, according to Vanguard's Edike, the EFCC reported that while some projects were overcharged others were undercharged. The amount of funds the EFCC has identified as misspent is much smaller than the amounts claimed against other Governors, thus defusing pressure on the Governor. The Governor's supporters claimed the charges were overblown. However, CADRL's Ogbu opined that with the Governor an ally of Obasanjo, the EFCC was prevented from doing a thorough job of investigating Nnamani.

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Opposition Weak, Public Marginalized  
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¶14. (SBU) Okechukwu Nkoloagu, Enugu State Chair for the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) told Poloff PDP does not respect the constitution, whereas APGA has a real ideological base based on fairness and "being your brother's keeper". In Nkoloagu's opinion, the Governor has been manipulative and undemocratic, using, for example, the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) as a tool to control elections. APGA, on the other hand, stands for integrity and not wealth, he claimed.

¶15. (SBU) According to Edike, many people are ready to change parties, as PDP support is largely superficial. Ogbu noted the PDP largely orchestrates rallies, whereas APGA support is genuine. People have lost faith in the government, the Governor is unpopular but people are afraid of him. However, Ogbu opined the opposition has an uphill battle against the PDP apparatus, because most ambitious politicians think joining the PDP is the sure way to power in Enugu, with its control over the machinery of State government, INEC, and the police.

¶16. (C) Comment: As in many other Southern States, the PDP in Enugu is divided between a faction belonging to the

outgoing governor and another faction identifying with a senator or another prominent politician. Many of these squabbles have little to do with governance. They have more to do with personal ambition and ethnic or sub-ethnic consideration. While the infighting may not presage a qualitative leap in governmental performance, the competition is good as it may prevent one group from maintaining a stranglehold on State power. Lying in the wings is APGA, the party that probably would have carried the State in 2003 had the election been fair. APGA is underfunded and fractious. However, with Enugu resident and former Biafran leader Chukwuemeka Ojukwu at its head, APGA could still make a strong populist appeal to the Igbo masses. Senate President Nnamani's intervention creating a more open Enugu PDP may be the only other way to affect a change of priorities. End comment.

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